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ROUND TABLE

DEATH OF THE COMINTERN

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A Radio Discussion by PETER DRUCKER
MAYNARD KRUEGER *and* SIR BERNARD PARES

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Around the Round Table . . . .

PETER DRUCKER, professor of political economy at Bennington College, was born in Vienna, Austria, in 1909. He came to this country in 1937 as a correspondent for a group of British newspapers. Professor Drucker received his Doctor of Law degree at the University of Frankfort. For a time he served as foreign and financial editor of the *Frankfurter Anzeiger*, and he was economist for a prominent British banking house before coming to the United States. He is a member of the Committee on Research in Political Theory of the American Political Science Association. He is the co-author of *Germany: The Last Four Years* (1937) and the author of *The End of Economic Man* (1939) and *The Future of Industrial Men* (1943). He is a regular contributor to *Harper's*, the *Saturday Evening Post*, *Fortune*, and the *Virginia Quarterly Review*.

MAYNARD C. KRUEGER, assistant professor of economics at the University of Chicago, studied both history and international politics before specializing in economics. He completed his undergraduate education at the University of Missouri in 1926. After receiving his A.M. from that institution in 1927, he joined the staff of Albion College as an instructor in history. He spent three years in Europe studying at the universities of Paris, Berlin, and Geneva. From 1928 until he joined the faculty of the University of Chicago in 1932, he taught in the School of Finance and Commerce at the University of Pennsylvania. In addition to his scholarly activity, politics is a major interest. In 1940 he ran as vice-presidential candidate for the Socialist party and is now national chairman of the Socialist party.

SIR BERNARD PARES, professor of Russian history at the University of London, is at the present time visiting professor of Russian history, especially of the Soviet period, at Cornell University. He was educated at Harrow School and Trinity College, Cambridge. He served for a time as a special correspondent in Russia for the *Spectator* and the *Westminster Gazette*. Sir Bernard was professor of Russian history at Liverpool University until 1919, when he went to the University of London, where he has taught Russian language and history as well as serving as the director of the London School of Slavonic and East European Studies. He is a foundation member of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. In 1915 he was awarded the Soldier's Cross and medal of St. George by the Russian Army. He is the author of chapters on Russia in the *Cambridge Modern History*, the author of *A History of Russia*, *The Fall of the Russian Monarchs*, and *Russia* (American ed. 1943).

DEATH OF THE COMINTERN

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MR. KRUEGER: The dissolution of the Communist International, which was hailed with such fanfare by American newspapers and radio commentators a few days ago, looks to me merely like the release by the Russians of the copyright on a name which they have held for a quite a long time.[1]

Do you not think, Sir Bernard, that the dissolution of the Comintern is being greatly overdone?

SIR BERNARD: On the contrary, we in England welcome the event as a great step toward an Allied victory. This question has been getting in our way all through the war. We could hardly expect Stalin to pull down his flag. Now he has done everything that we should have asked for, and we see our way much more clearly.[2]

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[1] Meeting in Moscow on May 15, the Executive Committee of the Third International proposed its own dissolution. That day *Pravda*, the newspaper of the Russian Communist party, announced the end of the Third International.

The First International had been broken after the defeat of the Paris Commune in 1871; the Second (Socialist) International had been irreparably weakened by the first World War, but they had never dissolved themselves. The Third had been founded as a result of a congress of representatives from thirty countries which was called by Lenin in Moscow in March, 1919.

[2] In answer to a query from Harold King, Reuters Moscow correspondent, on the Soviet view of the dissolution of the Comintern, Stalin wrote in a letter to King that he saw four immediate results: the organization of a "common onslaught". . . . against Hitlerism; the exposure as a lie the oft-repeated Nazi charge that Russia sought to "bolshevize" the world and also that Communists within the labor movements in the United Nations bloc are working against the war effort; clearance of the way "to future organization of a companionship of nations based upon their equality."

MR. DRUCKER: I disagree with you, Krueger, and in a way I disagree with you, too, Sir Bernard. I think that the dissolution of the Communist International is a very important event but that its importance lies not in the field of war strategy but rather in the post-war field. It strikes me as the first definite Russian step toward post-war organization, and I am not so sure whether it is one we ought to welcome in the democracies or not.

It frees Stalin's hand in Europe for a deal with the conservative forces, and it makes it possible for Russia to follow an isolationist policy after the war. That is my interpretation of it.

MR. KRUEGER: Before we go into those things, let us see whether we are agreed on what the Comintern is and what it has been, for it certainly has not always been what it is now.

The Comintern, Communist International, is a federation of national Communist parties in the various countries.

MR. DRUCKER: Not of individuals, in other words.

MR. KRUEGER: Not of individuals but of parties. In its earlier years the Comintern was clearly an instrument of world revolution. That is, it was an agency by which the Russians and the Russian government and the Russian Revolution were to be exported to the rest of the world. Isn't that correct?[3]

[3] The Third (Communist) International was the international organization of the Communist party of all nations, founded in 1919. Its basic principles included the following: (1) The Communist International was the organization of the Communist parties of each nation; it was therefore revolutionary. Its chief purpose was to accelerate the development of events toward world revolution. The aim of the Communist International was the creation of really revolutionary proletarian parties which should be the advance guard of the revolution,

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SIR BERNARD: Most certainly it was direct world challenge.

MR. DRUCKER: But only for the first ten years. I mean that that was true only until 1928 or 1929. Wouldn't you say that that is so, Sir Bernard?

SIR BERNARD: Yes, I agree with that. Of course, as a matter of fact, there were three distinct landmarks. In 1923 there seemed quite a good chance for world revolution in Germany. Trotsky says that Stalin spoiled it. In 1926 there looked to be an equally good chance in the general strike in England. Trotsky says Stalin spoiled that, too. Then, in 1927, Stalin didn't back the Communists in China. They joined hands with Chiang Kai-shek.[4]

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and the combination of them in a great homogeneous international Communist party. Their headquarters were only "for the moment," according to what Lenin said, located in Moscow. (2) It was not a loose organization, but an association bound together by a common program and principles and which received its orders from a central organ, the bureau of the Third International. This central organ not only issued general rules of conduct, but it laid down policy to the smallest details. (3) The individual Communist parties were, despite a general uniformity, not all organized on the Russian system. (4) In matters of internal policy the individual parties were strongly influenced by the Communist International, but there were great differences between nations. That is, the tactics were modified in line with long-standing traditions in the various countries. However, this was received as only a temporary tactical move (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*).

[4] ". . . . In 1926 the challenge of world revolution came to a head in England, which Marx had regarded as the vital test of success. When in September, 1925, the Trades Union Congress welcomed the Russian trade unionist leader Tomsky at Scarborough, it adopted from him the very program by which the Bolsheviks had come into power in Russia: the T.U.C. was to claim the obedience of all manual workers and practically take over the government of this country. The result was a most ironical failure. At the moment when the killing should have begun—'a heavy civil war,' as Lenin had put it—the British workers were far too respectable for anything of the kind. Moscow was furious—especially at the football match between strikers and police, in which the strikers won by two goals to one and the chief constable's wife kicked off. Radek, the witty writer in *Pravda*, described the result as a bombshell. Trotsky was for going on. Stalin might reasonably have asked his opponent whether all these abortive attempts

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MR. DRUCKER: So, you would say that Stalin himself was always opposed to the use of the Communist International for world revolution and that once he secured control of it, after he had expelled Trotsky, around 1928, he more or less put it on ice, did he not?

SIR BERNARD: I think so. He was always interested in home affairs. In all that time he never went out of the country. He does not know any languages, and, as a matter of fact, he was dealing with that exceedingly important question—the multinational question inside Russia.[5]

MR. KRUEGER: With a considerable amount of success, I should say.

SIR BERNARD: Great success.

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at revolution in foreign countries had had any result than the promotion of Fascism . . . ." (Sir Bernard Pares, *Russia* [New York: Penguin Books, Inc., 1941]).

[5] ". . . . When Lenin died in 1924, Trotsky was kept out of the succession, and it was shared by a triumvirate, of which it is true his brother-in-law Kamenev was a member, and also Kamenev's friend Zinoviev, but the driving force was Stalin. The whole strength of Stalin's position was that he was General Secretary of the Party, and that the Party governed Russia. He, more than anyone else, was the real distributor of posts—even in the Soviet Cabinet, to which he himself did not belong. He kept the books, he knew all the records—all the qualities, weaknesses and aspirations of his fellow-members. . . . . Trotsky might make the moves and the mistakes, and Stalin would wait for him and outplay him.

"Their disagreement lay in their respective characters. . . . . Trotsky was for aligning Soviet Russia with Labour parties and governments outside and taking little thought of peasant claims and desires; he was, in fact, an international world-politician. Stalin was more inclined to agree with the new Soviet Prime Minister, Rykov, a Right Bolshevik, that account must be taken of those whom the government was there to govern. But, above all, Trotsky was for a more ardent pursuit of the long-awaited and long-delayed world revolution. Stalin, on the contrary, in view of its patent unlikelihood, was prepared to soft-pedal the world revolution, anyhow for the present, and called for an internal program of construction which would prove that so large and potentially rich a country as Russia could go her own way, in spite of her encirclement by capitalist hostility, and could give an objective example of Socialism by its success in a single country . . . ." (*ibid.*).

THE U.S.A. AND THE U.S.S.R.

A Comparison of Areas

MR. KRUEGER: But I would object to the statement that the Communist International was put on ice after the expulsion of Trotsky. For quite a period after the expulsion of Trotsky the Communist International continued to be used by the Russians but used, not as an instrument of world revolution, but rather as an instrument of Soviet foreign policy.

MR. DRUCKER: That happened only after an interval of a few years during which time the Communist International was virtually dead. Then it was revived—I should say around 1935—as an agent of the Russian foreign office and as nothing but an agency of the Russian foreign office.

SIR BERNARD: That is right. You see, for six years Stalin did not allow the Comintern to meet in Moscow, after he had done with Trotsky. I happen to know that at one time the office was even moved outside Moscow. When it came back, you are perfectly right, Drucker, it came back definitely as quite a different thing—as an instrument of Soviet foreign policy.

MR. DRUCKER: For the last eight years the Communist International and international Communist parties have simply been agents of Stalin and agents of Russian foreign policy.

MR. KRUEGER: That has meant, then, that, whatever the foreign policy of the Soviet Union was, the Communist parties in the various countries were expected to adjust their internal policies to the needs of Russian foreign policy. There have been repeated instances of that. We have had plenty of examples of it in the United States, where the very sudden and spectacular shifts of line of the Communist party internally in this country have corresponded exactly to the foreign-policy interests of the Soviet Union.

SIR BERNARD: That is perfectly right, in my opinion, and the whole point is that we do not like that any more than the other thing. We do not care for foreign instructions to any party in our own country.

MR. DRUCKER: You mean the non-Communists in England?

SIR BERNARD: I mean "we"; we don't like it in Britain, and you don't like it in the United States.

MR. DRUCKER: So you would say, Sir Bernard, that, far from being a source of strength, the Communist International was a source of weakness for Stalin, since it antagonized this country and Great Britain. You would say that the Communist parties here and in England and in France and in Germany, instead of promoting the cause of Russia, as they were supposed to do, actually damaged it. I would fully agree with that.

SIR BERNARD: I think Stalin found that it was a beastly nuisance, and I must say that these Communist parties outside never really understood events. They did not know what had happened in Russia, and they went on without any understanding of Stalin's policy.

MR. KRUEGER: Gentlemen, what you are saying seems to me to be this: The dissolution of the Communist International marks no change whatsoever in Communist policy; it has not had a Communist policy for a good many years, but whatever significance it has is to be found in the field of Russian foreign policy.

Let us examine it, therefore, from that point of view and shift the discussion to that field. What is the effect of the dissolution of the Comintern going to be on, let's say, the United States and Britain, or on public opinion in the United States and Britain?

MR. DRUCKER: We have a clear example of that in the general welcome with which people in this country and in Britain have been hailing it as the removal of a major source of misunderstanding and friction among the Allies.

MR. KRUEGER: Isn't that equivalent to saying that in the United States and Britain the dissolution of the Comintern is going to affect the political opinions only of the people who did not really understand that, as a world revolutionary organization, it was already dead?

SIR BERNARD: Certainly! In neither country did most people understand that it was dead. In Britain the thing has been laughed at for some time back, if you like. I mean, we have had three Communist M.P.'s in the course of twenty-five years. I do not know whether any one of them understands what is meant by the word "Communism." The Communist party in our country is so insignificant that we just laugh at it. We have not been afraid for a long while back.

MR. DRUCKER: I would not dismiss it quite so quickly. Otherwise, we cannot quite explain the uproar and the rage and the hullabaloo made in Berlin and Rome about the dissolution of the Comintern. Hitler feels personally cheated.

MR. KRUEGER: I think that that can be explained. The Germans and the Italians and the Japanese have had a pact called the "Anti-Comintern Pact." I do not think that the strength of the Axis was based at all on the Anti-Comintern Pact.[6]

MR. DRUCKER: Oh, no, it was just the label. It was simply the sugar-coating on the pill.

MR. KRUEGER: Now, the dissolution of the Comintern removes one of the excuses that was given and one of the reasons that was given for the Axis. But, in my opinion, it does not particularly damage the cohesive strength of the Axis powers.

SIR BERNARD: May I go back just for a little? There has always been a German policy of pushing eastward. That policy was put out directly after the end of the last war came—namely, the conquest of Russia.[7] Very well! The whole of this Anti-Communist Pact is a smoke screen for acquisition of Russian territory by Germany. It has been Hitler's chief weapon. As a consequence, he must feel very worried at having the ground cut from under his feet.

MR. DRUCKER: All this discussion, both of the effect in this country and of the effect in Germany, is nothing but propaganda effects and the questions of minor friction or minor propaganda advantages.

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[6] The Anti-Comintern Pact was signed by Germany and Japan on November 25, 1936. Italy adhered on November 6, 1937, and Franco Spain on March 27, 1939. The pact has also been signed by Manchukuo and Hungary. The agreement, directed "against the communist international," was to last five years. It bound Germany and Japan (and the other signers later) to consultation and collaboration and established a permanent committee, "both investigative and defensive," against the Comintern. Ambassador Ribbentrop, who signed it on behalf of Germany, called it "an epoch-making event, a turning point in the defensive struggle of all nations loving order and civilization."

[7] See Eduard Beneš and Quincy Wright, "The Future of Europe," a University of Chicago ROUND TABLE transcript, No. 271, broadcast May 30, 1943, for a discussion of the German "drive to the east."

A BALTIC LANDSCAPE

I think that the thing goes much further than that. Its importance lies in the post-war field. I think that this is the way in which Stalin makes it possible for himself to cut the commitments he has

to the European Communist parties, especially the German and French parties, and it makes it possible for him not only to disavow them but to fight them if necessary.

MR. KRUEGER: Now, Drucker, you are saying something. I have waited for a long time to hear somebody make that kind of a public statement—that the dissolution of the Comintern might very well mean that Stalin is getting ready not only to disavow but to oppose and to fight what would otherwise be considered Communist forces in western Europe in the post-war period. Is that what you are really saying?

MR. DRUCKER: Yes. I think that the greatest danger to Stalin—the greatest danger to Russia—would be a revolutionary Europe, which would, in no time, engulf all of Russia.

Just imagine (and it is by no means a very imaginary example) that, after the collapse of the Nazis, every other Hitler party member will try to join the Communist party. A good many of them used to be Communists once. Those are men with considerable experience in running a political machine and with a great deal of experience in organization.

If Stalin has to deal with them, as the official brother-revolutionaries, the people who are his follow-proletarians, Stalin in no time would be the captive of the Nazis—the captive of the former Nazis, perhaps. Russia would be a satellite to Germany, to Communist Germany, and everything Stalin has striven for would be destroyed.

MR. KRUEGER: Let me turn this discussion now to an approach to this question from another point of view.

Does the dissolution of the Comintern start off a new pattern of policy which is likely to be followed, then, by other steps? That is, can we begin with the dissolution of the Comintern and go on to say that the official abandonment of the policy of world revolution

and of the policy of using the various Communist parties for purposes of supporting Russian foreign policy is going to be followed by, let us say, some such thing as the restoration of religious freedom in the Soviet Union? You would have an opinion on that, Sir Bernard. You have been there about twenty times.

SIR BERNARD: Well, I would say, first of all, that the dissolution of the Comintern is not likely to be any surprise for the people in Russia, because for a long while back they have been going in a direction in which they could do nothing but expect this sooner or later. That is what has made it easier for Stalin to accomplish it.

MR. DRUCKER: You would say that the one country which has known that Communism is a dead force has been Russia?

SIR BERNARD: It is Russia right through.

You were speaking, Krueger, of religious freedom. This is the story in short. The Russian church, on the eve of the Revolution, was in a thoroughly rotten state. I am not talking of Russian believers. I am talking of the machinery of the Russian official church. Do you happen to know that, for about two years before the end of the monarchy, Rasputin literally nominated the candidates to the chief posts of the Russian church? It was practically a police office, wasn't it?

MR. DRUCKER: Would it be correct to say that the Russian church in 1917 was simply part of the Czarist state machine?

SIR BERNARD: Certainly!

MR. DRUCKER: And of the police machine and not a genuine church in any sense?

SIR BERNARD: Most certainly! I had two friends who were unfrocked and both for purely political opinions and nothing else.

Then came the Revolution. I happen to know that Stalin, up to

the age of nineteen, was trained for the priesthood. He read Victor Hugo, and for that he was put in a black hole. He had a great personal friend, a young man named Yaroslavsky. This Yaroslavsky is now the president of the Union of the Godless. What is the last thing that Stalin has done to Yaroslavsky? He has made him print, in his Godless magazine, the fact that Sunday must be restored, because that is the wish of the majority of the people. Then, after that, he closed the Godless magazine for shortage of paper.[8]

MR. KRUEGER: That may mean that as Communism in Russia has ceased to be a religious crusade—that is, as the crusade has disappeared from it and as it becomes a byword or a slogan that the people still use as an ultimate that they might some day perhaps achieve—it is possible for a Communist government in Russia, supposedly Communist, to make its peace with religious bodies which had hitherto been considered competitors of a religious Communism.

MR. DRUCKER: That would fit in very well with the rumors one hears about an impending concordat—an impending understanding between Soviet Russia and the Vatican, would it not?

MR. KRUEGER: You say that they are rumors. That is all that I know they are, too. But an agreement between the Vatican and Moscow would seem to me to be quite in line with the Russian policy pattern just now.

MR. DRUCKER: I would go a little further than that. I would say that there are almost definite indications that Moscow is seeking such an understanding and that Moscow for the past year has been trying to come to terms with the European Catholics as part of its general policy of an agreement with whatever conservative forces there are in Europe.

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[8] For a discussion of the general subject of religion in Soviet Russia see Pares, *op. cit.*, chap. xiv, pp. 150–60.

To give but one example: I happen to know that a few months ago there was a big underground congress of underground leaders in Germany called by Russia, at which the program of the German Communist party was thrown out upon instructions from Moscow. They were forced to accept a program which was more or less a program developed by the underground Catholic trade-unions in Germany.

Further, take France, where Stalin practically suppressed and stopped the autonomous underground Communist movement, and made them submit to De Gaulle, who all his life has been a faithful Catholic and a monarchist and an anti-Communist. These are very definite indications.

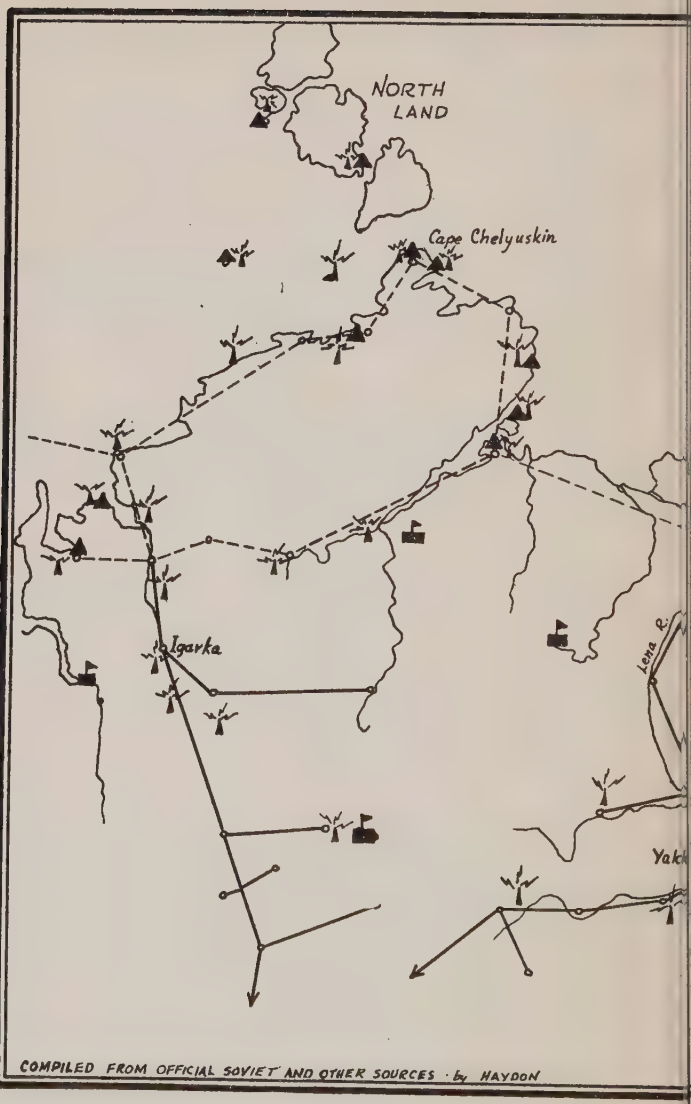
There is the same thing happening in Czechoslovakia, I think, and in Austria—definite indications of an all-out attempt on the part of Stalin to stop revolution in Europe and to organize Europe on the basis of the conservative forces there.

MR. KRUEGER: The instances you have given, Drucker, are instances from the contemporary war situation. I think that they are quite likely to be illustrative of the post-war policy. That is, I do not expect the Russian government to be an instrument supporting revolution of any Left variety any place on the continent of Europe in the post-war period.

SIR BERNARD: I would just like to emphasize a little the fact that I do not entirely agree with Drucker on this point. I do see that there is a great deal of point in it and that he has given us a good deal to think about, but I would like to add, if I may, that I do see definite indications of progress toward democracy in Russia itself.

MR. KRUEGER: Of what sort?

SIR BERNARD: When Stalin made his great major changes, as soon as Hitler came into power in Germany, they were big things.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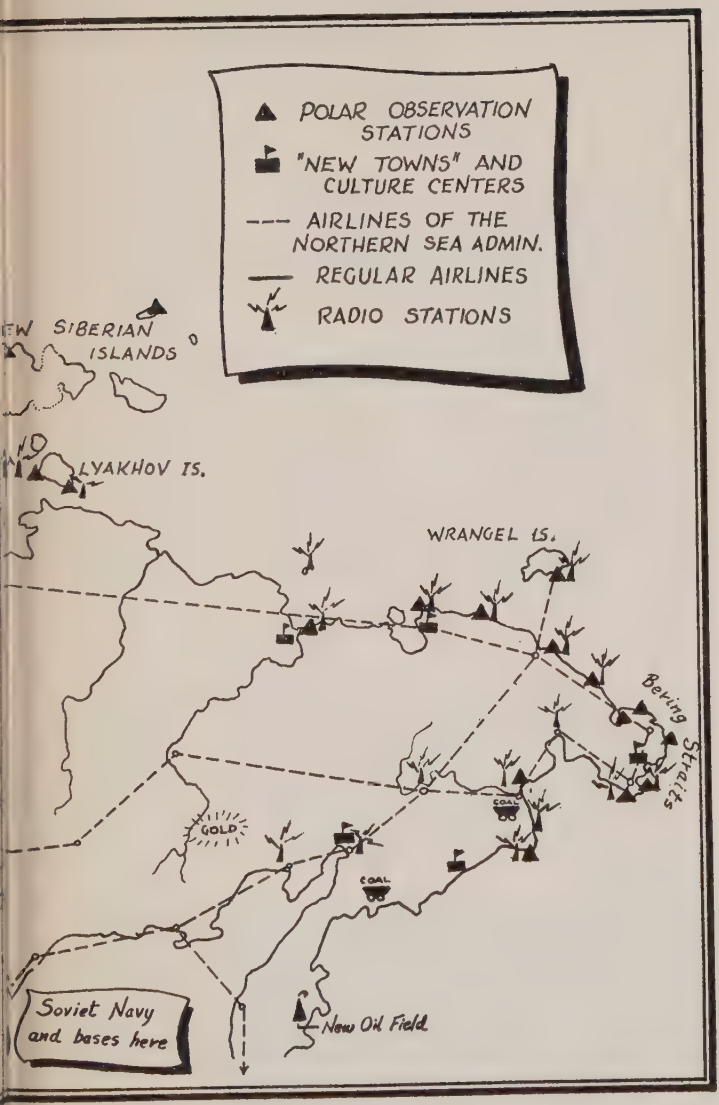


They were the restoration to a certain extent and within limitations of the profit motive; the full restoration of the family, which has brought it back to a state of honor; the return to objective study in the schools; and the discipline of children—all opposite to what they were doing before. Those things, in my opinion, were not only acts of common sense by Stalin but victories of public opinion. I think that he has his ear very close to the ground and that that is why he did it. I say that the same will be true after this war. He simply cannot disregard what his army has done for him. As I say, if he has his ear close to the ground, public opinion will continue to count increasingly in Russia.

MR. DRUCKER: I wish I could agree with you, Sir Bernard, but so far all I see are indications that Russia continues what she has been—neither a Communist state nor a democracy but a good old-fashioned Asiatic dictatorship, which has achieved a great deal, but which has, in no way, approached, or showed signs of approaching, a free society or any such thing. It may make concessions for reasons of opportunity, but it will never accept the principles of a free society.

SIR BERNARD: You are perfectly right to qualify what I am saying. Russia is a regime of state capitalism; it is not, at the present time, a regime of democracy. I am only pointing at certain indications which may be useful; but the fact is that, whatever else she is, Russia is not at the present time Communistic, and no one there pretends that she is.[9]

[9] *Communism* is a system of social and economic organization in which property is owned by the state or group, to be shared in common or to be distributed among members of the community equally or in proportion to their respective needs. *Socialism* is a political and economic system of social organization based on collective or governmental ownership and democratic management of the essential means for the production and distribution of goods—a system whereby private ownership of land and "productive capital" becomes public ownership. *State capitalism* is a system of capitalism in which capital is largely controlled or owned by the state.

Mr. Krueger: A dictator with his ear to the ground is not exactly my definition of political freedom. A dictator may respond to pressures from the army.

Mr. Drucker: He will.

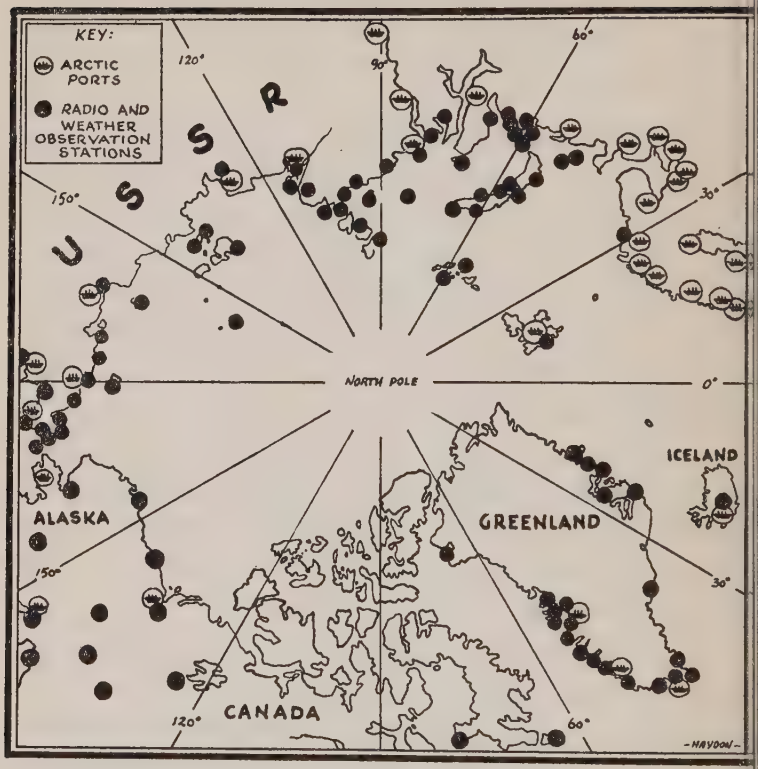
Mr. Krueger: He may respond to pressures from various sections of the people. But that is not political freedom at all; that is simply a dictator exercising some elements of caution in self-interest.

In the actions of the Russian government internally, I see very few indications that they are moving in the direction of political freedom. I think that they are quite likely to get more religious freedom, because religious freedom will not get in the way of the political dictatorship.

Mr. Drucker: What I would say is that the one definite indication I see is not in the field of Russian internal politics, not in the field of Russian cooperation in the war, but of Russian post-war policies. I see a definite preparation for what I would call the Russian peace policy.

Mr. Krueger: Let us turn, then, to that point. What do you expect the Soviet policy in the post-war period to be? The Comintern was not dissolved earlier presumably because there were some traditional factors that carried it on past the period of its usefulness. But, in the post-war period, what is Russia's major concern going to be?

Sir Bernard: I am quite clear. Reconstruction! Post-war reconstruction of all that has been pulled down by Hitler and the continuation of what was started before the war. Stalin had only just started. He had done no more than scratch the ground. He has the heartiest support in trying to make Russia rich—rich for every member of the community as a whole. Watch Siberia. Siberia is going, in my opinion, to repeat the story of the Middle West in this



country. It has practically everything—platinum, gold, coal, iron. In my eight months there, they were constantly discovering new coal and iron fields and enormous forest wealth, and the heart of Siberia is a wonderful farm-products area.

That is what Hitler wanted for his *Lebensraum*. There were the foods without the population. That is what Hitler wanted, not one of these potty little countries in Europe—one of these small countries, packed with black-coated people. Siberia!—and he nearly got there.

That's what Stalin's going to do when the war ends—develop that country and other parts like it.

MR. DRUCKER: I believe that you would agree with me, Sir Bernard, when I say that your conclusion is that Stalin is mainly trying to be aloof—trying to be able to build up his own country. I think that one can supplement that from the point of view of foreign policy. Stalin knows very well by now that he made one tremendous mistake—a mistake which almost cost him his country—and which, since the war is not over, may still cost him his country—the German-Russian Pact, in which he clearly gambled on the mutual annihilation of Germany and of the Western powers. He had hoped that he could stay out and remain at peace as long as Germany and the Western powers were fighting each other. By now I believe that he knows (he ought to know) that that was a mistake. You might call it a criminal mistake—that the only way to stay in peace is to have peace. The only way for Russia to be left alone is to have peace in Europe.

That is the basis for an isolationist Russian policy—a policy of building a stable, I would say, a conservative, Europe, and to be allowed to stay out of international affairs in order to concentrate on home affairs.

MR. KRUEGER: That policy is quite in accord, then, with Sir Bernard's suggested move into Siberia, and a concentration on the development of Siberia.

SIR BERNARD: The one involves the other.

MR. KRUEGER: Where does it leave the relationship between the Soviet Union and its foreign policy and the United States and Britain—the two other major parties to the United Nations?

SIR BERNARD: As far as the United States is concerned, you are his prime cooperator. There is no doubt about it. It is from you

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that he got his technicians, his machinery, and all the rest. You are his model. They cannot do without some help. As far as Britain is concerned, we are firmly determined, if we can, to go on with Russia and to regard Russia as a pillar of the peace as well as a great ally in the war.

MR. DRUCKER: I wish that I could agree with you, Sir Bernard, but I have my doubts, and I have to keep my fingers crossed. I think that it is entirely possible that Russia, after this war, will turn the great isolationist country, which will refuse to cooperate with any of the Western powers. One might even interpret the dissolution of the Comintern as making it possible for Stalin both to cooperate on his own terms and not to cooperate at all.

MR. KRUEGER: There were evidences during the period of Russian activity in the League of Nations that Russia was willing to go further than any Western power in the line of disarmament and the strengthening of the sanctions machinery of the League of Nations. It is quite possible, too, that in the post-war period the Russians will have learned that they cannot depend on Britain and the United States to cooperate in that type of procedure. The isolationist policy of Russia in the post-war period will really be blamable on the United States and Britain.

SIR BERNARD: True; I think Stalin will be aloof—there is no doubt of it—and suspicious. What I call a kind of "glorified peasant mind." I think that he will be all that and that he will not only want peace sincerely but need it outside in order to go on with his own job at home.

MR. DRUCKER: While I agree with that, I leave open the question whether this will make Russia willing to cooperate with her wartime allies or whether it will make her want to be left alone, refusing to be drawn into any sort of international order. I don't know.

MR. KRUEGER: Gentlemen, by way of summary, we have said, with varying degrees of agreement, that the dissolution of the Comintern was the abandonment of what was, from the standpoint of world revolution, a dead horse. It may very well be a part of a pat-

tern which will lead to the expansion of religious freedoms of the more traditional varieties in the Soviet Union. We are not agreed on what it means with regard to political freedom. My impression is that two out of three of us do not expect it to lead to expansions of political freedom there.

The point of view has been very strongly expressed that the dissolution of the Comintern is a sign of a growing isolationism in the Soviet Union for purposes of concentrating on the internal policies of Russia and the expansion of Siberia. We are all agreed that the dissolution of the Comintern means the formal recognition of what has been a fact for quite a good many years—namely, that Russia is not interested in promoting either Communism or world revolution.

The ROUND TABLE, *oldest educational program continuously on the air, is broadcast entirely without script, although participants meet in advance, prepare a topical outline, and exchange data and views. The opinion of each speaker is his own and in no way involves the responsibility of either the University of Chicago or the National Broadcasting Company. The supplementary information in this transcript has been developed by staff research and is not to be considered as representing the opinions of the* ROUND TABLE *speakers.*

More on This Topic

"Dissolution of a Spectre," *Time*, May 31, 1943.

HARPER, SAMUEL N. *The Government of the Soviet Union.* New York: D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 1937. *An authoritative study of Soviet government.*

LERNER, MAX, "After the Comintern," *New Republic*, June 7, 1943. *An analysis of Russian nationalism and the need of international progressivism.*

Life, March 29, 1943. *The entire issue is devoted to reporting on the Soviet Union. Of particular interest is the article by Joseph E. Davies on the Soviets and the post-war problems.*

MARTIN, KINGSLEY, "Communists and British Labor," *Nation*, June 5, 1943. *Reports why British labor does not welcome Communist cooperation.*

NIEBUHR, REINHOLD, "Russia and the West," *Nation*, January 16 and 23, 1943. *Argues that Russia will have to discard the Third International to become acceptable to the West.*

NIEBUHR, REINHOLD; DURANTY, WALTER; and GOTTSCHALK, LOUIS, *Russia as an Ally in War and Peace.* A University of Chicago ROUND TABLE transcript, No. 257, broadcast February 21, 1943.

PARES, BERNARD, *Russia.* New York: Penguin Books, Inc., 1941. *A history of the Soviet regime.*

WILLIAMS, ALBERT RHYS, "The Soviets and America," *Free World*, January, 1943. *States reasons for belief that Russia and America will cooperate in the peace.*

What Do *You* Think?

1. In your opinion what is the true importance of the dissolution of the Comintern? What has been the American and British reaction toward this move by Stalin? Has one of the principal obstacles to Soviet-American friendship been removed?

2. Do you agree with Mr. Drucker that the dissolution of the Comintern frees Stalin's hand in Europe for a deal with the conservative forces and makes it possible for Russia to follow an isolationist policy after the war? Do you agree with Mr. Drucker that "the greatest danger to Stalin, the greatest danger to Russia, would be a revolutionary Europe"?

3. Do you think that the history of Stalin's foreign policy has been one of opposition to the use of the Communist International for world revolution? Has Stalin used the Communist International as an instrument of Soviet foreign policy? Discuss.

4. What likelihood is there that the death of the Comintern may be followed by the sanctioning of full religious freedom in the Soviet Union? What is the history of religious freedom in Russia since 1900?

5. Do you think that the Soviet government will support revolutions of any "leftist" variety any place on the continent of Europe in the post-war period? Is an American foreign policy to prevent revolutions in the defeated countries an anti-Soviet policy?

6. Are there any definite indications of progress toward democracy in Russia itself? Or is Russia just an Asiatic dictatorship, as Mr. Drucker argues? Discuss.

7. What are the interests that may or may not cause Russia to participate with the United States and the United Nations in planning and carrying through post-war reconstruction? What is the importance of Soviet cooperation in securing a durable peace?

The People Say....

The following letters are representative of the views expressed by the ROUND TABLE *audience on "The Future of Europe," broadcast May 30, 1943.*

*

Restore Bulwark of Democracy and Tolerance

I am an Italian political refugee who lived in Italy until 1939. This morning I listened to your ROUND TABLE discussion with Mr. Beneš, with whom I agree today as I agreed years and years ago. I always considered Mr. Beneš one of the few intelligent and honest statesmen who were in office after 1918. He and Thomas Masaryk gave the world an excellent example of democratic rule, making good use of the newly acquired independence of their country, after more than three centuries of foreign domination.

It is my sincere hope that Mr. Beneš may soon return to a freed Czechoslovakia and so devote his energies and his political skill to the reconstruction of that country. I also sincerely hope that the "great" democracies which so eagerly, cynically, egotistically, and stupidly sacrificed the Czechoslovakian Republic may at least be helpful in this reconstruction and so remedy in some way the tragic consequences of their former betrayal. It is to the interest of Europe and the U.S.A. that this former bulwark of democracy and tolerance in Central Europe be reestablished with the utmost speed.

We can only wish Mr. Beneš the success that he deserves in accomplishing the hard task that lies before him, having devoted all his life to the service of his country. . . . . —*A listener from Los Angeles, California.*

*

Constructive

. . . . I would say that this discussion was one of the best ever presented. As was so well expressed by the questioner this morning, Dr. Beneš clarified our vision for post-war conditions. His views are the most constructive that I have heard. . . . . We need the sanity and vision of men like Dr. Beneš. We realize that once we have won the war the important thing is to shed our hatreds and become clear in our thinking if we are to rebuild the world our sons are fighting for. We must even learn to think without prejudice (as Dr. Beneš proves he can) in the midst of all this horror and sacrifice. . . . . —*A listener from Los Angeles, California.*

*

German People Responsible

. . . . I was greatly surprised that President Beneš considered all the German people responsible as a nation

for the atrocious actions and policies of the Nazis. That seemed very unjust to me, although I have no interest in the Germans or reason to sympathize with them. . . . . I believe that after the war is over a vote should be held in Germany in which the people could register their hatred or approval of the Nazi government—then punishment could be meted out to those who deserve it. . . . . —*A listener from Burlington, Iowa.*

*

Best Informed

. . . . I fully agree with all the ideas expressed by the eminent and best-informed statesman, Dr. Eduard Beneš, second president of my former home, Bohemia, and who is now sojourning among us. I agree with him in his leanings toward Mother Russia and a closer friendship along the lines of Pan-Slavism. . . . . I indorse his view of expelling the aggressive German minority from Czechoslovakia, after full reparation. . . . . —*A listener from Long Island, New York.*

*

Ably Spoken

. . . . I have not heard anything concerning international affairs at this time more ably put forth and at the same time more humanely spoken than did this real gentleman from our friendly ally, Czechoslovakia. May he have the necessary strength and good will to carry on for years to come! . . . . —*A listener from North Wilmington, Massachusetts.*

Enlightening

. . . . It was a most enlightening and very practical discussion, and I wish to have it to use in discussion groups. I wish that I could feel sure that the final peace terms could be made on the basis outlined by Dr. Beneš. It is so much better than the compromise between high ideals and selfish interests that I fear we may get.—*A listener from Santa Paula, California.*

*

Informative

. . . . Just a few minutes ago your forum, participated in by Dr. Beneš and Professor Wright, went off the air. I cannot tell you how delighted I was to have heard it! It was highly informative. . . . . —*A listener from New York, New York.*

*

No Sympathy

How anyone can have any sympathy for a country like Czechoslovakia is beyond me, after she was created here in America by industrialists and European politicians. She never was, or remained, faithful to the continent of Europe. . . . . She boasted about her great munition works, her great shoe works, and she had a banking system the like of none. . . . . She got wealthy on the poor of Europe. . . . . We will see that she does not start that famous Czechoslovakian system in Europe again. That is why she wants Russia and Poland on her side, but the Poles are wise to her, and there are other nations in Europe that the Poles can turn to. . . . . —*A listener from Cleveland, Ohio.*

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250. *Things To Come: How Science May Shape the Next Twenty-five Years*
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266. *Morals in Wartime*
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268. *Is the Good Neighbor Policy Here To Stay?*
269. *Are We Holding the Line?*
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2:00 P.M. EASTERN WAR TIME

City	Call Letters	Kilocycles	City	Call Letters	Kilocycles
Allentown, Pa.	WSAN	1470	Martinsville, Va.	WMVA	145
Altoona, Pa.	WFBG	1340	Miami, Fla.	WIOD	61
Asheville, N.C.	WISE	1400	New York, N.Y.	WEAF	66
Atlanta, Ga.	WSB	750	Norfolk, Va.	WTAR	79
Bluefield, W.Va.	WHIS	1440	Philadelphia, Pa.	KYW	106
Boston, Mass.	WBZ	1030	Pittsburgh, Pa.	KDKA	102
Charleston, S.C.	WTMA	1250	Portland, Me.	WCSH	97
Charleston, W.Va.	WGKV	1490	Providence, R.I.	WJAR	92
Charlotte, N.C.	WSOC	1240	Raleigh, N.C.	WPTF	68
Cincinnati, Ohio	WLW	700	Reading, Pa.	WEEU	85
Clarksburg, W.Va.	WBLK	1400	Richmond, Va	WMBG	138
Cleveland, Ohio	WTAM	1100	Rochester,	WHAM	118
Columbia, S.C.	WIS	560	Savannah, [illegible]	WSAV	134
Detroit, Mich.	WWJ	950	Springfield, Mass.	WBZA	103
Florence, S.C.	WOLS	1230	Springfield, Ohio	WIZE	134
Grand Rapids, Mich.	WOOD	1300	Syracuse, N.Y.	WSYR	57
Greenville, S.C.	WFBC	1330	Tampa, Fla.	WFLA	97
Greenwood, S.C.	WCRS	1450	Toledo, Ohio	WSPD	74
Jacksonville, Fla.	WJAX	930	Washington, D.C.	WRC	98
Johnstown, Pa.	WJAC	1400	Williamsport, Pa.	WRAK	140
Harrisburg, Pa.	WKBO	1230	Wilmington, Del.	WDEL	115
Lakeland, Fla.	WLAK	1340	Winston-Salem, N.C.	WSJS	60
Lima, Ohio	WLOK	1240	York, Pa.	WORK	135

1:00 P.M. CENTRAL WAR TIME

Birmingham, Ala.	WBRC	960	Louisville, Ky.	WAVE	97
Bismarck, N.D.	KFYR	550	Madison, Wis.	WIBA	131
Chicago, Ill.	WMAQ	670	Mankato, Minn.	KYSM	123
Dallas, Texas	WFAA	820	Memphis, Tenn.	WMC	79
Des Moines, Iowa	WHO	1040	Mobile, Ala.	WALA	141
Duluth, Minn., and Superior, Wis.	WEBC	1320	Montgomery, Ala.	WSFA	144
			Nashville, Tenn.	WSM	65
Eau Claire, Wis.	WEAU	1070	New Orleans, La.	WSMB	135
El Paso, Texas	KSTM	1380	Oklahoma City, Okla.	WKY	93
Evansville, Ind.	WGBF	1280	Omaha, Neb.	WOW	59
Fargo, N.D.	WDAY	970	Rochester, Minn.	KROC	134
Fort Wayne, Ind.	WOWO	1190	St. Cloud, Minn.	KFAM	145
Hattiesburg, Miss.	WFOR	1400	Shreveport, La.	KTBS	148
Hibbing, Minn.	WMFG	1240	Sioux Falls, S.D.	KSOO	114
Houston, Texas	KPRC	950	Springfield, Mo.	KGBX	126
Indianapolis, Ind.	WIRE	1430	Terre Haute, Ind.	WBOW	123
Kansas City, Mo.	WDAF	610	Tulsa, Okla.	KVOO	117
Kingsport, Tenn.	WKPT	1400	Virginia, Minn.	WHLB	140
La Crosse, Wis.	WKBH	1410	Wichita, Kan.	KANS	124
Little Rock, Ark.	KARK	920			

12:00 M. MOUNTAIN WAR TIME

Albuquerque, N.M.	KOB	770	Phoenix, Ariz.	KTAR	62
Billings, Mont.	KGHL	790	Pocatello, Ida.	KSEI	93
Boise, Ida.	KIDO	1380	Safford, Ariz.	KGLU	145
Bozeman, Mont.	KRBM	1450	Salt Lake City, Utah	KDYL	132
Butte, Mont.	KGIR	1370	Tucson, Ariz.	KVOA	129
Denver, Colo.	KOA	850	Twin Falls, Ida.	KTFI	127
Helena, Mont.	KPFA	1240	Yuma, Ariz.	KYUM	124

11:00 A.M. PACIFIC WAR TIME

Bakersfield, Cal.	KERN	1410	Sacramento, Cal.	KFBK	153
Fresno, Cal.	KMJ	580	San Diego, Cal.	KFSD	60
Los Angeles, Cal.	KFI	640	San Francisco, Cal.	KPO	68
Medford, Ore.	KMED	1440	Seattle, Wash.	KOMO	95
Portland, Ore.	KGW	620	Spokane, Wash.	KHQ	59

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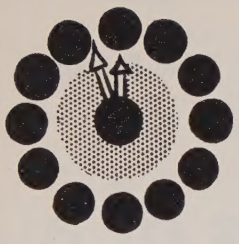
Columbus, Ohio	WCOL	1230			
Milwaukee, Wis.	WTMJ	620	St. Louis, Mo.	KSD	55
Minneapolis, Minn.	WLB	770	Schenectady, N.Y.	WGY	81

BY TRANSCRIPTION VIA SHORT WAVE

Anchorage, Alaska	KFQD	790	Juneau, Alaska	KINY	145
Fairbanks, Alaska	KFAR	610	Ketchikan, Alaska	KTAN	93



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Requisites of a Durable Peace

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MORTIMER J. ADLER, Law School, University of Chicago

JAMES BURNHAM, Department of Philosophy, New York University

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SUGGESTED READINGS

DULLES, JOHN FOSTER, "Six Pillars of Peace," *Vital Speeches*, April 15, 1943.

HUTCHINS, ROBERT M., *Education for Freedom.* Baton Rouge, La.: University of Louisiana Press, 1943.

———, "Toward a Durable Society," *Fortune*, June, 1943.

MEIKLEJOHN, ALEXANDER, "Education as a Factor in Post-war Reconstruction," *Free World*, January, 1943.

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